DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 253 346 PS 014 908

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TITLE Social Class Differences and Their Susceptibility to Change: Early Age Intervention Effects on Family Interaction.
PUB DATE Apr 84
NOTE 31p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (68th, New Orleans, LA, April 23-27, 1984).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Childhood Attitudes; Discipline; Early Childhood Education; Family Environment; *Family Involvement; *Family Programs; Fathers; Federal Programs; Followup Studies; *Interpersonal Communication; Intervention; Interviews; Longitudinal Studies; Lower Class; Middle Class; Mother Attitudes; Mothers; *Parent Child Relationship; Parent Participation; Parent Role; *Social Differences; Socioeconomic Status; *Young Children
IDENTIFIERS *Project Know How

ABSTRACT

Project Know-How, a small intensive early childhood intervention program, stresses family involvement in attempting to maximize the development of children. Three main components are involved: a preschool program, a mothers' program, and a fathers' program. Project goals are addressed through a three-fold intervention plan involving cooperative counseling, human relations training, and educational and occupational training. This report, part of a 12-year longitudinal follow-up study of the project, addresses questions relating to the effects of social class differences and early intervention on family interaction. During semistructured home interviews, characteristics of communication between mothers and children were analyzed from mothers' and children's taped responses to hypothetical childrearing problems. Results indicated that a control group of middle-SES mother-child dyads and an experimental group of low-SES dyads were more active and less punitive than a control group of low-SES dyads. Experimental dyads were found to agree with each other in the discussion of hypothetical situations more often than those in the two control groups. Middle-SES dyads interrupted more frequently during discussion than those in both experimental and control low-SES groups. Results were considered in the context of other research on family environment and the long term effects of early intervention on family interaction characteristics. (Author/AS)

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Social Class Differences and Their Susceptibility to Change: Early Age Intervention Effects on Family Interaction

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Running head: Early Intervention Effects

Abstract

The interactions of thirty mother-child dyads were examined in the context of social class and early age, family intervention effects. Communication characteristics were analyzed from taped responses to hypothetical childrearing problems obtained during a semi-structured interview conducted in the home. Of the three experimental groups, untreated middle SES and treated low SES families were found to be more active and less punitive than untreated low SES dyads. Experimental dyads were found to agree with each other in the discussion of hypothetical situations more often than those in the two control groups. Middle SES dyads interrupted more frequently than those in the low SES groups. The results are discussed in the context of research on family environments and of long-term early intervention effects on family interaction characteristics.

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A growing body of research on parent-child interaction has accumulated recently that helps to increase our understanding about the relationship between environmental and developmental processes. Early age intervention studies and other research focusing on parent-child interaction address the problem of how developmental processes may be affected by the environment (Falender and Heber, 1975; Jones, 1972; Moerk, 1976; Ramey, Farran and Campbell, 1979; Wertsh, McNamee and Mclane, 1980; Wood and Middleton, 1975). In particular, the relationship between family communication characteristics and children's intellectual growth has received considerable research attention (Blank, 1974 Bradley and Caldwell, 1976a; Hess and Shipman; Price, Hess and Dickson, 1981; Wachs, Uzgiris and Hunt, 1971). The effects of the home environment have also been considered, more indirectly, through the use of family demographic characteristics (Bradley and Caldwell, 1980; Lamb 971; Laosa, 1980; Mosteller and Monyhan, 1972; Williams, 1976, Zajonc, 1973).

Parental disciplinary practices, expectations, demographic characteristics and similar factors have been found to correlate strongly with tests of children's intellectual ability. Of these characteristics, the most strongly related to children's cognitive growth tend to center around family communication characteristics, such as parental cognitive, teaching and reinforcement styles (Hess and Shipman, 1969; Feshbach, 1973). Various characteristics of information-exchange in the home appear related to the child's intellectual development (Bernstein, 1971; Price, Hess and Dickson, 1981; Wheeler, 1980; Wertsch et al., 1980). Not only current empirical findings but substantial theory suggest that verbal

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interaction processes may affect the child's cognitive growth (Vygotsky, 1962; Bruner, 1973).

Follow-up evaluations of early childhood interventions would seem to provide one opportunity for longitudinal study of the relation between family communication and the child's level of development. Several positive effects of early age intervention have been reported recently in the literature (Bronfrenner, 1975; Brown, 1978; Haskins, Finkelstein and Stedman, 1978). Grade failure and repetition is reduced (Lazar and Darlington, 1971; Government Accounting Office, note 2). The child's rate of mental development is accelerated independently of the mother's measured intelligence (Ramey et al., 1979). Still, it is not very clear how these effects were achieved. Two general hypotheses appear plausible. Both may be valid. First, early intervention effects may be attributed, in general, to the enrichment of children's early cognitive environment. Second, intervention may alter the manner in which parent and child interact in a way that affects the child's development. Zigler (1977), in discussing early intervention effects, has noted,

> ". . .the evidence does not differentiate between the relative contribution to the effects on school performance of increased intellectual skills in the child and increased parental concern with the child's learning. The positive effect of early education on school performance is now fairly well established, but the mechanism by which it has this effect is still open to conjecture."

If the second hypothesis is valid, we may expect to find changes in parent-child interaction when changes in the child's mental development have been found to occur following intervention. It may be that family communication characteristics represent one factor,

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among others, that influences the child's intellectual growth. However, as some reviewers of this literature (Karnes and Teska, 1975; Ramey, Farran, and Campbell, 1980) point out, there is practically no information concerning the long-term effects of early interventions on familial processes. In sum, much more information is available on possible links between parent-child interaction and cognition and between early intervention and intellectual performance than is available on links between intervention and parent-child interaction.

This report is part of a longitudinal, 12-year follow-up of a small, yet intensive, early childhood intervention project. Early age interventions vary considerably in amount of parental involvement across programs. This study examines the potential long-term impact of one intervention that stressed family involvement in attempting to maximize the development of children. It explores the questions of a) social class differences and b) early intervention effects on family interaction. The following is a description of the intervention, in which SES differences were controlled as part of the design of the project.

Project Know-How: A Family Centered Intervention

Project Know-How (PKH) served as a prototype to subsequent Parent-Child Centers and Parent-Child Developmental centers, (Dunham, 1973; Note 1). It was a federally funded, experimental intervention aimed at normalizing low SES children's rate and level of mental development. The program was a whole-family effort that attempted to stabalize and strengthen the parents' roles in support of the child's development through training and support services.

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The program design included both experimental and control low SES groups and an upper middle-class control group. Each consisted of 15 black and 15 white families. Families were identified initially from city birth records (Tallahassee, Florida, 1967) and by resource members in the project. The low SES families were randomly assigned to groups after satisfying federal poverty standards and appropriate selection criteria assessed through Hollingshead's Index of Social Position (1958). The education level of parents was 12 grade or less and the occupational level fell within the two lowest Hollingshead classes (4 and 5). Class 4 consists predominantly of semi-skilled blue collar workers who have finished the elementary grades, and adults under 35 that have generally graduated from high school. Class 5 consists overwhelmingly of semi-skilled factory hands and unskilled laborers. Most of the adults in this class had not completed the elementary grades.

Other criteria for family selection of the experimental PKH families were the following:

1) The family has a one year old child.

2) The family is nominally intact.

3) The father is

   a) chronically unemployed or employed at a submarginal income level.

   b) no more than 35 years of age.

4) The family does not have psychiatric or other behavioral problems or suffer from any illness tha would prohibit successful participation in the project.

The selection of the upper middle-class famililies was guided by the criteria number 1, 2, and 4 as well as the Hollingshead Social

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Index. The majority of these families fell in Classes 1 and 2 of this index.

Intervention Description

The three main components of PKH were 1) The Preschool Program, 2) The Assisting Mothers Program and, 3) The Father's Program. The Preschool Program was based on the assumption that low SES children receive generally a less sophisticated quality of adult verbal interaction, both conceptually and syntactically, that limits their intellectual development (Bernstein, 1961; Hess and Shipman, 1965). The target children attended the preschool program five days a week for four hours each day. Contact with adults was frequent and structured. Teachers and mothers worked with the children using discovery learning and more highly structured procedures. A special job description was introduced, designated as Verbalizers, which used graduate student aides to insure and increase the amount of warm and purposeful conversation with a highly educated adult, and to increase the rate of delivery of semi-structured learning trials. PKH trained the staff to engage and serve as competent language models for the children. Activities involving health and safety, physical development, time-space-number concepts, and verbal communication were emphasized in the children's program.

The Assisting Mothers' Program was designed to involve them in learning situations that would strengthen in their roles as parent, homemaker, and teacher. The mothers were employed half-time (20 hours a week for 2 years) in on-the-job training in two PKH child development research centers. This allowed them to interact with their children as well as model their interactions after the

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teachers and verbalizers. In addition to acquiring new learning skills from their interaction with the teachers, verbalizers, cook-instructor and other personnel, the experimental mothers were taught the content of a normal high school home economics course, that was adapted to low-income needs and interests. The four areas of home economics the mothers studied included: 1) home management, family economics, and consumer buying, 2) personal and family relations, 3) child development and guidance, and 4) food and nutrition. A literacy program was offered on a voluntary participation basis.

The fathers' Program was designed to strengthen the father's role as breadwinner, parent and husband, and to prevent marital failure. The attainment of these goals was implemented through a 3-fold plan of intervention composed of 1) Cooperative Counseling, 2) Human Relations Training and 3) Educational and Occupational Training (Dunham, 1973). The fathers' involvement in the program was moderate in comparison to the mothers' daily attendance. However, the Fathers' Program was a unique feature in the field of family intervention. In sum, the level of parental involvement equal, if not above, to that reported by other early age interventions. The total delivery capacity (Dunham, 973) of PKH was very high. The operation of the PKH intervention program ran from 1967-1969 for a period of two years.

METHOD

Subjects

The selection of families for the original project sample has been described above. It will be recalled that they fell into three

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categories. There was a lower-class experimental group which was enrolled in the intervention program and treated through several program components. There were also two comparison groups - a lower-class group comparable in all respects to the experimental group and a middle-class group. In the follow-up studies which are occurring, a number of types of information are being sought. For the present study, the focus is on information about the parent-child interaction. We wish to determine whether the intervention has had an effect on the interaction. To accomplish this effectively and within the resources and time frame available, we elected to choose a subsample from the original sample consisting of ten families in each of the three conditions experimental, lower-class comparison group and middle-class comparison group. Because the original samples had been carefully divided into black and white subsets, the subsamples were also chosen to include half black and half white families. The male to female ratio in each condition is: 6/4 low SES treated; 3/7 low SES untreated and 5/5 middle SES untreated. Based on preliminary data, four experimental, six low SES control and eight middle SES control families remain intact. Two families in each of the low SES groups include a step-parent. The remainder are separated or widowed status families.

Families for the subsample were recruited by a pattern of mail-outs to all project participants families followed up by a search for telephone numbers and addresses through the city directory and public school records. Families were contacted as they were located and invited to participate. In general, the families remained very cooperative. By the time the thirty families

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needed were identified, only three had declined--one at the lower-class level and two at the middle-class level. Because the representativeness of the subsample in comparison with the original sample is an important factor in drawing conclusions about the effects of the intervention, a number of comparisons were made. The subsample appears to be representative of the original sample in regard to occupational and educational level as measured by the Hollingshead Index of Social Position, and by the ethnic background of the families.

Procedure

The interviews were conducted in the families' homes and lasted about half an hour. The experimenter had an assistant present at each interview to help set up the tape recorder and take notes concerning the mother and child's actions, any changes in protocol such as the phone ringing, presence of siblings, and the general atmosphere of the interview. The following instructions were read out loud by the experimenter in order to avoid differential levels of response due to reading level.

> "Mrs. _____ and _____, I'm going to show you some cards and read them to you. On these cards are some problem situations which could occur in your family. I would like one of you, first, to tell the other how you would solve the problem, and then, the other person tell how they solve the problem. When you have both given your solutions, I would like you to discuss the problem together and decide on a solution that both of you agree on. I would like you to try and speak to each other and try and ignore us. Do you have any questions?" The experimenter then answered questions.

Seven hypothetical situations that described common childrearing problems were used as stimuli for parent-child discussion. For example, they were asked to discuss what would most likely occur in

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the home if the child made poor grades at school or got into a fight. Each card was given to the mother and child, one at a time. E read the card aloud while the mother and child read theirs silently. The mother and child then described what they thought would occur in each case. E taped each interaction and was silent except to obtain clarification of something the mother or child said, to elicit a response when either of them did not respond or to answer their questions.

The dependent variables were based on three response categories. The first response category consists of tallies of the following behaviors, scored separately for mother and child:

Initiator of interaction (e.g., C may initiate 4 of 7 situations)

Frequency of successful Interruptions (e.g., C may speak while M is talking and C continues to finish the communication)

Frequency of unsuccessful interruptions (e.g., C may speak while M is talking and M continues to finish the communication)

Number of questions asked during the discussions

Simultaneous speech (e.g., after a pause, when both M and C speak at once, note person who prevails)

Speech duration (timed from the taped interactions)

Total number of exchanges: the sum of separate statements made by each person across all seven situations

The second response category involved judgements about how each hypothetical situation was resolved, using one of eight categories consisting of various types of agreement or disagreement. The eight categories were defined as follows:

Mature Conditional Agreement. Mother or child agrees with the other but reasons further about possible conditions under which

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complete acceptance of the other person's resolution cannot be made.

Active Agreement. There was active participation and expression of compatible views between mother and child.

Parallel Alternatives. Elements of both agreement and disagreement were present. The mother or child agree in general concerning the handling of the situation, but they differ in the degree of handling.

For example, both may feel punishment is the way to handle a situation, but one may feel restriction is necessary while the other may feel a whipping is necessary.

Elaborate Active. One person agrees with the other's resolution and discusses the situation by going into specific reasons as to why they agree.

Passive Agreement. The agreement constitutes very short, brief agreements by one member to the other's resolution without elaboration or active participation. For example, responses such as "Yes, I agree", or "I guess she is right", or if the agreeing member repeated verbatum what the other member had expressed.

Expedient Agreement. The agreement has elements of both disagreement and passive agreement. For example, the child may offer differing views from the mother but gives in to the mother at the end of the discussion.

Failure to Resolve. The mother and child cannot resolve the main issue of a hypothetical situation.

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Disagreement. The mother and child express incompatible opinions concerning the resolution.

Each situation was evaluated individually and assigned to one of eight categories. There were many zero codes as a result of the number of solution types relative to the number of problem situations and subjects. Since several of the categories were conceptually similar and their consideration would increase the likelihood of Type I errors, they were collapsed into two discrete measures.

The first consists of the sum of conditional, active, parallel and elaborate agreements for both mother and child responses. This measure was named POSITIV. Similarly, the second measure, NEGATIV, is the sum of passive and expedient agreement, failure to resolve and disagreement.

The last response category is a composite of several parental disciplinary practices reported by the mother during the interview. It is based on the work of Jackson (1956). He developed an instrument that assessed parental disciplinary methods ranging from informative and accepting to authoriarian and punitive. The instrument is used to tally maternal references to the following behaviors:

a) acceptance of the child's would be behavior, trusting
b) explanation, discussion, providing a rationale for discipline
c) use of natural consequences (i.e., not being able to go to a friend's house if absent from school)
d) bribery, reward to obtain compliance
e) reprimand, scolds, berates, loses temper
f) assertion of authority (urges, orders, demands)

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g) threat of deprivation, punishment, love-withdrawal

h) actual deprivation, restriction

i) coercion to repeat behavior, induce guilt, shame

j) punishment not otherwise specified

k) physical punishment, spank, slap

x) addition of information, elaboration about similar situations

z) avoidance of situation, denies the possibility of the situation arising, ambiguity.

Maternal references to the above 13 parenting behaviors varied both in number and type. Again, for reasons similar to those employed in simplifying the resolution categories, an effort was made to reduce the data. A factor analysis (Rao's canonical factoring) was employed to extract one general factor with a varimax rotation. The analysis provided one measure named Jackson that reflects parental disciplinary behaviors along the bipolar dimension described above. For example, a mother who reports employing democratic practices such as explanation, acceptance, natural consequences would receive a high, positive Jackson score. A negative Jackson score would reflect assertion of authority and the use of various types of punishment. Factor scores were derived for all 30 cases. A more detailed description of the above procedure is being prepared separately as a brief report.

RELIABILITY

The reliability for the measures in the first response category was estimated by using Pearson correlations computed from the tallies of two independent raters. This method was employed since speech duration, number of questions and others were count measures

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that varied only slightly. The averaged reliability for these measures was .89.

The reliabilities for the Jackson and resolution measures were calculated by dividing the number of interrater agreements by the number of agreements and disagreements. These measures required a judgement as to what statements were scorable under the given categories rather than frequency counts. Two trained judges, working together, examined each interaction and identified maternal statements that were scorable under the Jackson scale. They also made judgements as to how each hypothetical situation was resolved using one of eight response categories. After a training period, a second group of raters examined the interactions of a subset of eighteen families that were representative of the whole sample in terms of experimental condition and race. Their scoring was independent of that of the first group of judges. The reliabilities for the Positive Resolution measures averaged to .73 while those for the Negative Resolution measures averaged to .77. The average reliability for the Jackson categories was .64 before they were factor-analyzed to produce a unitary measure of parenting style.

RESULTS

A multivariate analysis of variance was chosen in order to reduce the risk of Type I errors associated with testing a large number of dependent measures. The independent variables are social class, intervention and race. Ethnicity represents an important source of variability that is accounted for in order to assess the long-term effects of early intervention. Overall multivariate tests of significance revealed a significant condition main effect (F;

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S=2.3, M=2, N=6.5 = 2.4, p .02) but no condition by race interaction or race main effects. Table 1 shows the follow-up univariate results for experimental condition.

Insert Table 1 about here

SES Effects

Simultaneous speech by mother and successful interruptions by child both were more frequent in the middle SES group than in the treated (t (18) = 2.44, p .02; t (18) = 2.44, p .02) and untreated (t (18) = 2.13, p .04; t (18) = 2.67, p .01) low SES groups respectively. Successful interruptions by mother, her speech duration and the child's speech duration were also found to be greater in magnitude in the middle SES that in the low SES control group (t (18) = 2.37, p .02; t (18) = 2.48, p .02; t (18) = 2.94, p .007) respectively.

Intervention Effects

The experimental group's speech duration was comparable to the middle SES control dyads and was also reliably above that of the untreated low SES mother-child dyads (t (18) = 2.75; p .01; t (18) = 2.74, p .01 respectively). Positive resolutions (POSITIV) occurred more frequently in the experimental group than in the low and middle SES control groups (t (18) = 3.07, p .005; t (18) = 2.04, p .05). That is, experimental dyads were found to reach mutual agreements more often than dyads in the other two groups (see Table 1).

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Marginal Effects

As table 1 shows, three other measures of parent-child interaction were of practical significance. The number of questions by mother indicated that middle class mothers asked questions more frequently than those in both the low SES treated ($t(18) = 2.15$, p .04) and the low SES untreated ($t(18) = 2.13$, p .04) groups. In terms of childrearing practices, experimental and middle SES mothers were less punitive than the untreated low SES mothers on the Jackson measure ($t(18) = 1.92$, .06; $t(18) = 2.05$, p .05 respectively). This finding appears to confirm earlier evidence concerning social class differences in disciplinary behaviors. It also suggests that experimental mothers are less harsh and somewhat more permissive in parenting than their low SES counterparts. The compositive NEGATIV also served to differentiate the latter two groups. Experimental dyads failed to reach mutual agreement or to disagree less often than the low SES control group ($t(18) = 2.30$, p .03).

DISCUSSION

A number of significant effects were noted, which in part, confirm previous research findings concerning social class differences (Baldwin, 1945, Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957; Schaefer, 1958). Several characteristics of dyadic interaction were also found to differentiate the experimental from the untreated low SES group that suggest experimental families have become similar in some ways to middle-class families. Although a number of potential intervening factors (e.g., change in occupational or marital status) may have influenced the observed effects, our interpretation is

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based on the assumption that early intervention affected the family as a whole. That is, the child's development was maximized in ways that may have affected others in the family environment. The parents, and particularly the mother, may have been affected by treatment. It may be that her social behavior became more adaptive and expressive in both the family and social environment. Additional research is needed to estimate separately the effects of intervention on parent and child behavior, and to understand whether some project effects mediate the occurrence of others.

Longitudinal Effects

The communication between mother and child in the experimental group is found to be more active and child-rearing practices to be less harsh in comparison with the untreated, low SES group. These effects are also seen in the comparison between the untreated middle and low SES groups' behavior. The results, along with other marginal findings where the experimental group fell between the two control groups indicate that early age intervention may have a long-term effect on children's home environment. The observed effects suggest that the treated, low SES group shares several behavioral characteristics common to those of middle SES families.

Mother-child dyads in the experimental group dealt with the problem situations by mutual agreement more often than dyads in the other two groups. Low SES control dyads failed to resolve the situations cooperatively and to disagree more often than the experimental dyads. Both findings suggest that early intervention may have succeeded in altering the adult-child interaction toward a more participatory and democratic style.

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Middle class mother-child dyads were found to differ from both low SES groups in terms of the number of successful interruptions and the mother's simultaneous speech occurances. The findings may be interpreted as indicating that conflict is more prevalent in middle-class family environments. Alternatively, it may reflect that more active verbal interchanges are characteristic of middle SES environments. The differences in the frequency of interruptions and simultaneous speech occurences suggests that middle-class mothers may tend to regulate communication processes verbally through interruptions. If so, such findings could reflect one aspect of the home environment that relates to the child's cognitive development. The increased level of activity found with the middle SES dyads and experimental dyads, compared to that of the low SES group, may denote differences in children's cognitive and language environments. Notice that although the number of exchanges between mother and child did not differ significantly across groups, they were considerably briefer in the untreated low SES group as reflected by their speech duration.

A number of biases should be considered in context with the results of the study. Experimenter and task characteristics may be biasing factors relevant to our interpretation of the results (Borduin and Henggeler, 1983; Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Seechrest, 1966; Zegiob and Forehand, 1978). While Type I risks are as stated, there can be no doubt that our Type II errors may be as many as a function of the small sample size. The effects of subsequent events in the experimental subject's life represent also a potential problem. The data do not permit us to distinguish between the

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direct effects of intervention on the mothers' approach to their children or any other conceivable effects on intervening variables such as maternal attitudes, future orientation or social status sensitivity, and those effects, consequently, on the child. However, the most parsimonious explanation may be the best. The intervention project provided excellent role models and a long period of time for the mothers to learn from the models. It seems likely that mother-child interaction approach to child-rearing may have been influenced in ways following the principles of social-learning theory.

Environmental Characteristics and the Developmental Process

Out of the interrelated mosaic of environmental factors influencing development, certain socialization patterns may be found to be important in maximizing the child's development. The present research addresses only a subset of environmental processes found in the home that may affect potentially the child's growth. The results seem to confirm previous findings concerning social class differences and to document, in part, some long-term effects of early age intervention. More studies that focus on children's communicative environment are needed to study and identify differential interactive styles in relation to other performance measures. Different patterns of information exchange at home may be found that relate to children's development of particular cognitive and social competencies. This line of research may carry implications for intervention design and evaluation, as well as for developmental theory in general. In sum, the findings suggest that family-oriented early age interventions can alter

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behavioral characteristics of the home environment more than a decade after treatment. To what extent and in what manner those environmental characteristics affect children's social and cognitive development remains to be explored.

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TABLE I

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL CLASS AND INTERVENTION ON MOTHER - CHILD INTERACTION

INTERACTION VARIABLE	EXPERIMENTAL CONDITION						ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
	LOW SES EXPERIMENTAL		LOW SES CONTROL		MIDDLE SES CONTROL		
	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	MEAN	SD	F
INITIATIONS BY CHILD	1.50	1.90	2.00	2.40	2.40	2.50	0.40
SIMULTANEOUS SPEECH BY MOTHER	0.10	0.32	0.10	0.32	0.50	0.53	4.00**
SIMULTANEOUS SPEECH BY CHILD	0.20	0.42	0.20	0.42	0.50	0.70	1.05
SUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTIONS BY MOTHER	0.90	1.30	0.10	0.32	1.60	1.70	3.60**
SUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTIONS BY CHILD	0.60	1.07	0.40	0.69	1.40	1.20	4.00**
UNSUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTIONS BY MOTHER	0.30	0.48	0.20	0.63	0.30	0.48	0.11
UNSUCCESSFUL INTERRUPTIONS BY CHILD	1.30	1.80	0.20	0.42	1.20	1.20	2.00
QUESTIONS ASKED BY MOTHER	5.60	8.90	5.70	6.30	14.70	14.00	3.10*
QUESTIONS ASKED BY CHILD	0.70	2.20	0.70	1.90	2.50	3.30	1.60
SPEECH DURATION BY MOTHER	321.70	142.80	193.90	102.40	309.10	80.00	4.60**
SPEECH DURATION BY CHILD	104.60	69.80	37.90	24.90	109.40	57.30	5.40**
JACKSON SCALE	0.23	0.79	-0.52	0.97	0.28	0.83	2.60*
EXCHANGES	27.30	13.01	30.20	15.70	42.0	28.80	1.50
POSITIVE	4.60	1.40	2.80	1.50	3.40	0.84	4.90**
NEGATIVE	2.30	1.50	3.00	1.90	3.40	0.97	2.80*

*P < .10
**P < .05

Insert Table 1 here

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Table I.

Total Mean Values for the Hollingshead Social Index for the Three Experimental Groups in the Original and Sample Populations*

	L		M		E		Total
	W	B	W	B	W	B	
Original	4.6	4.5	1.8	2.4	4.7	4.9	3.82
Sample	4.5	4.2	2.0	2.6	5.0	4.8	3.85

*The Hollingshead Social Index considers education and occupation levels.
L-lower class controls, M-Middle class controls, E-experimental group, W-white, B-black.

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